THE NATION

APRIL 4, 1959 . . 25c

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East Orange, N. J.

ATOMIC ENERGY: SEVEN KEY ISSUES

Senator Clinton P. Anderson

NATO: Appraisal and Forecast

Geoffrey Barraclough

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LETTERS

Collective Howl

Dear Sirs: Algren [Nelson Algren, "Chicago Is a Wose," issue of Feb. 28] would have been a lot more sympathetic to our work in Chicago if he'd attended our reading and not taken his information from expurgated radio tapes, local newspaper crap and *Time*. None of us lisps. What fairy he been talking to?

GREGORY CORSO
Gregory Corso, in respect to Shelley
ALLEN GINSBERG
Allen Ginsberg in the name of Myakovsky
PETER ORLOVSKY
Peter Orlovsky, heart felt with the beauty of Sergei Essenin

P.S. Algren — I beg you, go today to Lois Solomon at the Shaw Society and *Listen* to the complete tape reading. Don't judge Poetry from secondary vile sources. Too much philistinism in the world already.

ALLEN

Teachers and the Draft

Dear Sirs: John C. Esty, Jr., of Amherst argues ["Draft Dilemma: A Way Out," March 14] that if we make teaching an alternative service under the Selective Service System two problems will be solved: (1) present inequities in the draft will be reduced, and (2) the teacher shortage will be eliminated.

The worst thing wrong with the peacetime draft is not its inequities but its irrelevance. President Eisenhower, in his press conference on March 11, said: "A nuclear war as a general thing looks to me a self-defeating thing for all of us. . . ." He also ruled out ground warfare in Europe, saying, "We certainly are not going to fight a ground war in Europe. What good would it do to send a few more thousands, or even divisions, of troops to Europe?"

If the President himself believes that our present military posture is irrelevant to our defense needs, why should a prospective draftee feel differently?

And certainly the teacher shortage cannot be solved by drafting teachers, directly or indirectly. There are three reasons why teachers are in short supply: (1) they do not get paid enough; (2) their profession has been downgraded, and (3) they are naked targets for every bigot in the community. To bring teachers into the classroom under the whip of alternate draft service will do three things: (1) it will further degrade the standards of the profession; (2) it will strengthen the salary-bargaining power of the school boards and reduce the bargaining power of the teachers, and (3) it will make teachers even more vulnerable to the attacks of the bigots who will then be able to add the cry of draft-dodger to the rest of their super-patriotic invective. In other words, the real problem of getting good education into the classroom will be made worse rather than otherwise. . . .

The best thing that Mr. Esty and his academic colleagues could do about the teacher shortage would be to fight for the kind of conditions (academic freedom, status, pay) which will inspire young people to seek teaching, not as an alternative to anything, but as a commitment and a vocation.

STEWART MEACHAM
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sirs: I quite agree with Mr. Meacham on the irrelevance of the draft to our apparent military needs at present. Elimination of conscription would obviously solve the problems of inequity, uncertainty and conscience. I tried to suggest in my article that this possibility has been insufficiently explored, and that part of the argument for continuation of the draft was spurious. It became clear to me, however, from a close reading of the Congressional debates and direct conversations, that the draft extension would be railroaded through Congress. I therefore thought I could be most effective working within that clearly inexorable context. Mr. Meacham's idealism is terribly important; I must choose to be practical.

Mr. Meacham analyzes succinctly and, I think, correctly the reasons for the teacher shortage. I cannot agree that increasing the supply of potential teachers — by whatever means — would degrade standards; for the first time we might be able to raise them. The next point is a good one — and a danger in my proposal. But I am not convinced that where a teacher shortage now exists, the salary-bargaining power is greatly improved. On Mr. Meacham's last point, I can only conjecture that the climate seems to indicate a heightening public respect for and acknowledgment of the importance of sound education and the recruitment of qualified teachers, which might keep the bigots subdued.

Of course, teaching should inspire young people as a commitment and a vocation. Of course, my academic colleagues are actively fighting for conditions conducive to this kind of motivation. But it is precisely because the battle is manifestly a losing one that I made my proposal. Again to be practical: I think temporary teachers searching for an alternative to the draft are better than no teachers at all.

JOHN C. ESTY, JR.
Associate Dean, Amherst College
Amherst, Mass.

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The Nation, Apr. 4, 1959. Vol. 188, No. 14

The Nation, published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by **The Nation** Company and copyright 1959, in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1959
VOLUME 188, No. 14

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

How Firm Can One Stand?

For reasons of accepted political psychopathology, a statesman dealing with a detested foreign government must present to his public an image of granite-like resolution. This is expected of him, much as the soldier is expected to be brave. However, the same constituents who love the statesman for his firmness are aware that the other side also possesses grenades, tanks, missiles with nuclear warheads, etc. They do not want the peerless leader to push matters to a suicidal pass, even though the enemy will share in the general immolation. The statesman is thus faced with a dilemma inherent in the nature of the sovereign nation-state no longer able to resort freely to the use of its excessively powerful weapons. While not giving an inch, he must simultaneously be prepared to negotiate. In the present combat of nerves, all the contestants — Eisenhower, Macmillan, Adenauer, Khrushchev, de Gaulle — have shown how one can be immovable, yet never stay in the same place very long. There is no firmer man than John Foster Dulles, yet before his illness he too was in the early stages of negotiating the unnegotiable.

If one reads the papers of a few months ago, one perceives that even in so short a time terms change their meaning. The inference is that change will continue. We know, today, that "disengagement" is a stratagem of the Communists which it would be fatal for us to consider, even in principle. But by midsummer, disengagement may become altogether respectable. Some unexcitable commentators have pointed out that we have disengaged before. The Seventh Fleet is in the Taiwan Strait to keep the nefarious Chinese Reds and the godly Chinese Nationalists disengaged. We have been refraining from engagement in Central Europe for years, notably in the Berlin riots of 1953, the disturbances in East Germany and Poland and, most conspicuously, in the Hungarian uprising of 1956. Of course, we can never consent that the satellite states shall remain enslaved, but we are not setting a date for their liberation. We are careful not to carry our firmness to a fatal extreme, and by all indications the same caution will be exercised by others. None of this may be heroic, but it represents a formula for survival.

Atomic Publicity

Among the principal opponents of a nuclear-test ban at the present time are the Atomic Energy Commission, the Pentagon, John Foster Dulles, General de Gaulle, and scientists like Edward Teller and Willard F. Libby. Among the proponents, with reservations of varying degree, are Ambassador Wadsworth, Ambassador Lodge, some officials of the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department (including Acting Secretary Herter), and scientists like Harold C. Urey, Linus Pauling and, more important as far as access to the President is concerned, James R. Killian. Positions on a question so complex and so momentous will naturally differ and no one should be condemned for his views per se. What is reprehensible is the coloring and timing of the release of inside information to mislead the public. This has been the practice of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Pentagon and others in the pro-test camp, and that it has not been wholly successful in hoodwinking the average American is due largely to Senators Clinton P. Anderson and Hubert H. Humphrey.

The ordinary well-intentioned American, in common with his counterparts in every country of the world, instinctively recoils from the "crackpot realism" of those, both on the Western and Soviet sides, who wish to see testing resumed. Hence it is necessary to feed him misinformation, which is done heavy-handedly by a Teller and more subtly by a Libby. Everyone knows by now what Teller is up to: moderation is simply not in his make-up or, it may be, he is convinced that atomic war is inevitable. Libby puts on a show of objectivity, but somehow always manages to interpret the data to minimize the dangers of fallout and to magnify the difficulties of policing a test ban. A typical Libby miscalculation occurred in connection with fallout of strontium 90. Libby initially estimated the time for 50 per cent fallout at seven years. When Defense Department findings could not sustain this figure, he dropped it to four years. He demurs at the two-year estimate of other experts, but one cannot help suspecting that his conclusions are still influenced by his loyalty to the official AEC position.

This position has not been changed substantially

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from the one established by former AEC chairman Lewis L. Strauss, whose name is now before the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of Commerce. Last year the Lewis and Rosa Strauss Foundation, named for Admiral Strauss's parents, awarded $5,000 and the Albert Einstein medal to Edward Teller. This year the $5,000 and the medal went to Libby. Through the foundation, if in no other way, Strauss still has a hand in the atomic setup.

For these revelations and many others, Americans are indebted to Senator Anderson, who takes seriously the right of citizens of a democracy to be informed (see his article on page 288). If it were not for Senators Anderson, Humphrey and a few others, the talks in Geneva might already have collapsed. Senator Humphrey has urged the President to accept a plan whereby the West and the Soviet bloc would each have two votes on the seven-nation control commission which is to be set up to supervise the test ban, with three neutral votes on the seven-nation body. He would also limit on-site inspections to meet Soviet objections.

Among them, these Senators have injected an element of sanity into a situation which otherwise would be indecipherable to the ordinary citizens, whose lives are as much at stake as those of the high controllers, be they commissioners or commissars.

The Engineer as Creator

The Institute of Radio Engineers is now the largest engineering society in the world. At its annual convention in New York City, it mobilizes 55,000 (some estimates go as high as 60,000) members and guests for what is probably the greatest technological show on earth. But the show is not entirely technological and scientific. As the irreverent Homer Bigart of *The New York Times* puts it, "the annual body-snatching of electronics engineers — four days of intensive raiding of each others' staffs by hotly competitive companies," is also a feature of the convention. Lurking in $130-a-day Waldorf-Astoria suites, the talent scouts await the discontented engineer who, in the standardized phrases of the fraternity, feels that his present job is not "sufficiently challenging," who seeks a "creative job climate" in which he can "grow professionally" and realize his "personal parameters." And, Mr. Bigart suggests with sordid accuracy, maybe would appreciate a little more money.

And yet, even those who are already getting more money than any engineer could hope to earn a few years ago, who are creative, whose jobs are challenging, who have reached the top and whose personal parameters are bulging at the seams — even these lucky ones may not be as happy as, one would think, it is their duty to be. "Our missile program is the swan song of a dying civilization," shouted Dr. A. R. J. Grosch at a conference of scientists at Cal Tech on March 19. "We don't need better missiles to destroy each other — the ones we have now will do the job adequately. And there isn't any point in zooming off into outer space. We could spend the money better solving problems here at home — taking care of our overcrowded, underfed millions." Dr. Grosch's outburst followed some equally critical remarks by Dr. Louis J. Ridenour, Jr., who is assistant general manager of research and development in the missile-systems division of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. Dr. Grosch is manager of space programs for the International Business Machines Corporation. It may be precisely because of their creative abilities that these two eminent engineers have succumbed to heretical doubts. The members of the Institute of Radio Engineers who are seeking a "creative job climate" should take warning. Apparently there is such a thing as being too creative.

The "Silent" Faculty

The Daily Texan (University of Texas) has been conducting an editorial appraisal of the "silent" faculty. The paper's observations are the more persuasive — and the more generally applicable — because the editors do not find a convenient villain. It is not a case of throwing out the rascals, but of recognizing the dynamics. They key to the situation rests in the statement that whereas in 1900 one in twenty-five of our youth attended college, the ratio today is one in three. This explosion of students (and no account is taken of the accompanying rise in population) implies a parallel explosion of administrative machinery. Higher education, whatever its ends, operates by the means of big business.

Now the mark of a good administrator is his ability to keep the corporate engine operating smoothly and economically. It is therefore pointless to attack President Logan Wilson of Texas (and the *Texan* does not attack him; it merely reports his position) for saying that conflicts must be kept to a minimum in the academic community as in any large enterprise.

But if the president insists on harmony, the faculty must subdue its intransigent members, and that will result in a quiet faculty. The paper cites several instances of faculty members who fared poorly after being associated with what the president would presumably consider inharmonious statements or actions. Quite simply, they lost out at the pay window.

One sympathizes with Dr. Wilson's fear that the enterprise he heads is too large to suffer the eccentricities of men addicted to truth, beauty or abstract justice. The great vessel must steer straight for its goal — it cannot veer for voices heard in the night. But since the goal of good administration is good administration, faculty and students alike are caught in a circle. How to break out is not a subject to be disposed of in a

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paragraph, but the way to begin is to define the situation. That is what the editors of the *Texan* have done, and we relay the gist of their thoughtful appraisal in the hope that it will arouse the controversy it deserves.

The Multi-Purpose Commission

Aging New Dealers may remember the evils which were ascribed by their opponents to the multi-purpose dam, which combined in one structure flood control, navigation facilities and power generation. These evils existed only in the imagination of the enemies of public power, but the present Atomic Energy Commission setup should be scrutinized by the Administration and Congress. The protean commission researches, manufactures and tests nuclear weapons, licenses the industrial uses of radioactive materials for all purposes (including power generation), establishes and enforces radiation safety standards and, as we have seen, propagandizes against a nuclear-test ban. Clearly, it is trying to do too many things at once. The Public Health Service and the Food and Drug Administration surely have an interest in radioactive contamination of food and water supplies by atomic fallout or accidental release of radioactive materials. But these dangers are related to the formulation of radiation safety standards: therefore it would seem that the Public Health Service, in particular, should be given the responsibility in these areas. An advisory committee appointed by Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General of the Health Service, has suggested such a transfer. The change would protect the public against over-zealous AEC weaponeers and take some of its functions out of politics. The Public Health Service would work in cooperation with state and local health bodies. All this seems highly desirable.

Oil Politics

High tariffs were once unctuously justified in terms of high wages ("the full dinner pail"); now they are demanded in the name of "national security." The most recent instance is the President's imposition of mandatory quotas on oil imports to safeguard "national security" — even though it should be clear that the restrictions will only hasten the day when our dependence on foreign sources becomes critical. Moreover, Canadian oil does not move overseas and from a defense point of view might well be regarded as domestic in origin. So far as the Canadians are concerned, therefore, there is justification in Sumner H. Slichter's characterization of the quotas as "an unwarranted act of economic aggression."

On its face, this would seem to be a high price for the Administration to pay for the continued helpful support of Messrs. Rayburn and Johnson. But it is possible that the price might have been higher if the President had not signed the order. For according to one theory, the real purpose of the curbs was to stall off legislation sponsored by oil-state Senators and Representatives which would have replaced the President's present discretionary power to apply quotas with a schedule of specific quotas fixed by Congress.

However, the indignant protests of Senator George D. Aiken, perhaps the most widely respected Republican in the Senate, echoed by virtually all New England Senators and Representatives and ably seconded by Senators Morse, Proxmire and others, may yet offset the remarkable influence which Messrs. Rayburn and Johnson exercise on all issues relating to oil. In the Senate, the campaign against mandatory oil quotas has now taken a new turn with the preparation by Senator Proxmire of legislation which, in effect, would require the President to countermand his order. This the President should do in any case, for the order represents, as Dr. Slichter has said, "sordid politics at its worst."

The Powell Case

One of the few achievements of Herman Welker and William Jenner — neither of whom, happily, any longer serves in the United States Senate — was the indictment of Mr. and Mrs. John Powell and their co-defendant, Julian Schuman, under the 1917 Sedition Act. The charges were based solely on reports and comments on the Korean War and the Korean truce negotiations which were carried in the well-known *China Weekly Review*, which John Powell's father had founded many years previously. All of the comments were made and published in China. The defendants returned to this country in 1953 and probably would have escaped the attention of Messrs. Jenner and Welker had it not been for the fact that they did some writing and speaking about China and Chinese-American relations. Even so, no action was taken against them until 1956, when the Welker-Jenner agitation finally bore fruit. Nearly three years were then consumed in an unsuccessful effort on the part of the defendants to secure the testimony of witnesses residing in China. The case, which finally went on trial last January, was suspended when Judge Louis Goodman declared a mistrial on a technicality.

The charges were already stale when the original indictment was returned, and the fruitless efforts of the defendants to secure testimony in China may in itself constitute a denial of due process. Apart from these considerations, the case represents, in the judgment of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California (concurred in by the national office), ". . . A serious threat to fundamental liberties, particularly freedom of the press and fair trial." Stemming as they do from the miasmatic political atmosphere of the cold war, the charges are without substance and should be dropped. (See "Sedition or Press Freedom?" by Gene Marine, *The Nation*, February 16, 1957.)

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ATOMIC ENERGY: 7 Key Issues . . *by Sen. Clinton P. Anderson*

AS CHAIRMAN of the Joint Atomic Energy Commission, Senator Anderson (D., N.M.) knows as much about our atomic-energy program as anyone not privy to the secrets of the AEC. He is also — fortunately for the country, as recent headlines attest — a firm opponent of the idea that this vital subject should remain the private preserve of a handful of officials. In this article, he answers the following question posed by *The Nation*: "What should every citizen know about the atomic-energy program?"—ED.

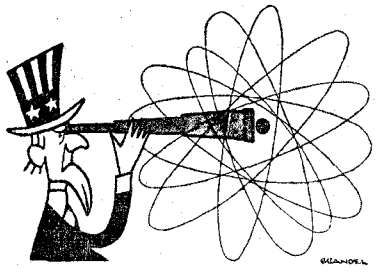
Washington, D.C.

IN RECENT YEARS the nation's atomic-energy program has become the subject of almost constant controversy. In fact, in the short span since the first atomic bomb flashed in the skies of my home state of New Mexico, dispute has become the most noticeable characteristic of our nuclear program.

The picture has grown so big and complicated that the thoughtful citizen has become confused. I shall try, in this article, to explain what the debate is all about by outlining the major problems facing our atomic-energy program and clarifying the positions taken by the various participants: the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, the Atomic Energy Commission, the State Department, the Department of Defense, the Bureau of the Budget and (in certain instances) other committees in Congress.

To put the picture into perspective, let me say first that basically there is really one underlying problem. This is that the whole atomic-energy field still is so big, so new and so devoid of precedent and experience, that there are simply too few rules to follow when it comes down to the job of translating grandiose dreams into specific and attainable realities.

Because of the inherent nature of atomic energy, every new idea and new proposal opens up new and unforeseen problems. For instance, who could have foreseen the problem of disposing of radioactive wastes before there was such waste to be disposed of?



With this broad idea in mind, let's get down to specifics.

There are a half-a-dozen or so major "sore spots" which today are causing disagreements between Congress and the Executive. These sore spots extend all the way from national policy down to the methods for carrying out mutually acceptable goals. In many cases, they cut across the heart of our political, social and economic life. They affect our foreign relations, our national defense and our daily life.

Let me pose and discuss seven policy questions which are currently under debate:

1. Do we need more plutonium production? If so, why?

Much, if not most, of the atomic-energy controversy stems from differences of opinion between the Joint Committee and the Administration over the need for increased plutonium production. This difference extends into national defense, foreign policy and the civilian-reactor program.

The answer to the "need" question must be sought in our national-defense philosophy. When the answer is found, the way will be paved for a realistic weapons program, a framework for carrying out the civilian power program and decisions concerning our place in the international picture.

Members of the Joint Committee believe that a decision must be reached soon at the top levels of government as to whether we should continue to rely almost exclusively on the massive-retaliation concept of national defense based on superweapons or, accepting the limited-war theory, increase what many consider to be our inadequate small-weapons capability.

Joint Committee members are convinced we should take the latter course. We have reached an atomic stalemate in the big-weapons field, the same type of stalemate which was reached with poison gas during World War II. Russia and the United States both have the capability to destroy each other. In fact, we have weapons so big that we would be hard put to find targets important enough to justify their use, weapons so terrible that neither side would dare use them. And we have as many of these weapons as we need.

But instead of facing the prospect of all-out nuclear war, we find ourselves in the position of having to deal with numerous "brush wars." We see Russia nibbling away at the West in Korea, in Quemoy, maybe some day in Berlin.

WE CANNOT match the Soviet in conventional forces. Its manpower reserves are too great. On the other hand, we do not dare unleash our big weapons to put out small fires. The alternative, I believe, is to arm ourselves for limited nuclear warfare, to accept the fact that some day we may be forced to use small atomic weapons.

If we decide to follow the limited-war philosophy of national defense, we have answered automatically the plutonium-need question, because small weapons are the big users of plutonium. Its efficiency enables us to construct weapons of sizes which could never be feasible with the use of uranium.

I think that we must have a large arsenal of highly diversified small weapons. We need them for our anti-aircraft, anti-submarine and particularly our anti-missile programs. Plutonium is ideally suited to these weapons.

In addition, we must not overlook the peaceful uses of small devices. The Atomic Energy Commission is currently embarked on Project Plowshare, under which it is exploring the feasibility of using small nuclear ex-

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plosions to blast out harbors, to mine ore, to develop oil fields. There is tremendous promise in this field, which may create a further need for plutonium.

For these reasons, the Joint Committee has insisted for several years that a need for more plutonium now exists, that the need will grow, and that steps must be taken at this time to meet it. The Administration, on the other hand, has refused consistently to admit the need. Why?

In my opinion, it is because the Administration fears that, once it yielded on this point, the Joint Committee would insist on the construction of dual-purpose reactors—reactors which would generate power as well as produce plutonium. And the Administration does not want the government to get any further into the power business under any circumstances. This attitude, I believe, is the root of the whole problem.

Look at the facts.

The Administration, although reluctant to admit the need for plutonium, last year came up with a proposal to establish a $200 million revolving fund for the purchase of plutonium from foreign countries. But if there is no need for plutonium, why import it? And if there is a need, why not make it ourselves? The joint committee opposed the proposal on the ground that plutonium requirements should be met by production facilities in this country.

There is also the puzzling arrangement through which the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission determine the military requirements for plutonium. For many years, the Defense Department has managed consistently to request only as much plutonium as the AEC has planned to produce. Instead of making independent determinations of need based on long-term national-defense requirements and a realistic small-weapons program, the department has been projecting its needs for an unrealistically short period of time—shorter than the "lead time" necessary for the construction of new production facilities.

Last October, at the Joint Committee's insistence, the department finally came up with a longer projection. But no one should be surprised if this projection, too, proves to be based primarily on the AEC's current production plus planned improvements. Thus there is still no indication that the department has changed its position significantly.

Why should this peculiar situation exist? Again, I think it can be traced to the fear that an admission of need would lead to construction of new reactors, which the Joint Committee might insist be dual purpose.

In any case, I believe that we must bring out the facts of the whole controversy, instead of impeding the atomic-energy program by evading them.

2. What is the best method for meeting our plutonium needs?

Believing that the need for plutonium exists whether the Administration admits it or not, Congress last year appropriated $145 million for a reactor at Hanford, Washington, which could be converted into a dual-purpose facility. Now the AEC has come up with a study which shows the reactor as proposed is not economically attractive. So here we go again.

I am convinced that we should build not only the Hanford reactor, but that we should build at least three additional reactors at AEC sites, all of them capable of producing power as well as plutonium. The Administration's suggested alternative—that we import plutonium—is not, in my opinion, a wise one; I believe that it was motivated by concern with the power problem. There is a possibility that the Administration may suggest another alternative: modernization of existing production facilities. This idea, though attractive economically, will not meet the problem, in my opinion.

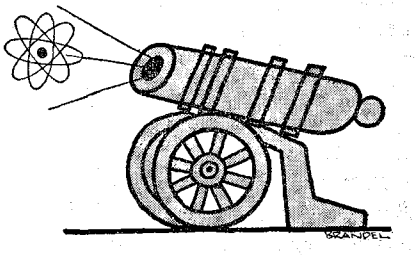
3. What should we attempt to achieve with our nuclear-submarine program, and how far should we extend the use of maritime nuclear propulsion?

Four years ago, we launched the world's first nuclear submarine. Since then the *Nautilus* and her sister ships have written whole books of Navy history. Yet, except for refinements here and there, we have been more or less at a standstill in our seagoing nuclear program.

I have advocated additional progress in this field—the exploration of more advanced power plants, an increase in the size of our submarine fleet and the extension of nuclear propulsion into our maritime applications. Last year, during debate on an authorization bill, I had ready an amendment to provide $7 million for construction of a nuclear reactor for the T-5 tanker, a proposal opposed by the Budget Bureau. I reluctantly withheld the amendment because of Senate floor debate over other portions of the bill.

The Atomic Energy Commission chairman has taken the position that we should await evaluation of the operation of the *Savannah,* the nuclear cargo ship now under construction, before extending nuclear propulsion to other types of vessels.

Another phase of the nuclear-submarine program presents thornier problems. That is the question of how far we should go in making our



submarine-reactor technology available to our allies. Last year we entered into an agreement with the British under which plans for a nuclear submarine were to be made available to them; a reactor for use in a British submarine is now being constructed in this country. Since then, the French have stated that they also want a nuclear submarine, and that they want us to make plans and a power plant available to them. This request, and others like it, must be considered at top government levels. The decision must be made as to how much information we should distribute to our allies, especially in cases where the question of security is debatable. (There is no evidence so far that the Russians have developed a nuclear submarine, and while we are not so naive as to think they will not eventually succeed, there is no reason for us to help them.) The Joint Committee will take great care in reaching its final recommendation.

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4. What should we do about our nuclear-aircraft program?

The ANP (Aircraft Nuclear Propelled) program presents a classic example of the truism that dollars alone cannot get the job done. Millions of dollars more have been spent on ANP than on the entire atomic-submarine program. Yet nuclear subs are sailing under the North Pole, while the nuclear airplane is still flying only on the drawing board.

Why? Because the Administration has never been willing to come out and say, "We want an atomic plane and we want it by X date." To phrase it more exactly, the Administration has never decided that it really wants a nuclear aircraft.

The Air Force has adopted the position that it will support the project only if it can be assured in advance of a militarily useful plane. The Joint Committee, on the other hand, has argued that we need to build the plane even if the first prototype is not militarily useful. Committee members believe that tremendous prestige will accrue to the nation which first gets such an airplane into the air. They also realize the advantage of an airplane which does not need to land for fuel every few hours.

There have been reports that Russia already has succeeded in building and flying an atomic airplane. The United States must make a decision as to the future of its own ANP program.

5. What policy should we adopt toward nuclear-weapons testing?

This problem, which in the past has embroiled the Joint Committee in more than one bitter argument, is now pretty much in the hands of the State Department. For the record, the Joint Committee's position is that any agreement to cease nuclear testing should include a provision to permit monitored nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. I have suggested, furthermore, that a possible alternative to a full test ban would be an agreement among the major powers to place a limit upon the amount of nuclear debris released into the atmosphere each year by nuclear testing. I believe that we could eliminate the fallout danger by conducting tests underground or outside the atmosphere.

The Joint Committee also believes that any agreement to ban testing should rest on a reliable method of detecting nuclear explosions as insurance against violations.

6. How should we handle the problem of nuclear fallout?

Much has been said and written about the dangers to the world's peoples from radioactive fallout.

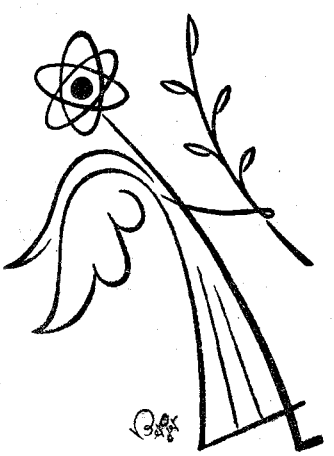
During the Joint Committee's radiation hearings in 1957, there was convincing testimony that radiation in any amount can be harmful. In contrast, Dr. Willard Libby, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, and other scientists have contended that the dangers presented by fallout from nuclear testing are so minute as to be almost nonexistent, and that the advantages to be gained from testing far outweigh the disadvantages of fallout.

I am convinced the United States should make every effort to eliminate this danger, even if the danger is only psychological. If people think that they or their children will be harmed by radiation from fallout, then we must remove fallout if possible. As indicated earlier, I believe we can do this by conducting our tests in areas outside the atmosphere.

Happily, this is a field in which debate is becoming less controversial.

7. How should we implement our civilian power-reactor program?

The Administration is opposed to government construction of reactors which will generate power. It favors a program of limited construction. The Joint Committee has proposed a broader program, including construction of at least four power-producing reactor prototypes, with the power to be consumed on-site.



The real roadblock in the civilian-reactor program is the Bureau of the Budget. The imposition of arbitrary budgetary ceilings has continually held back the program. The situation was summed up by the AEC's Ad Hoc Committee as follows:

> Either this country continues its leadership at the cost of heavy expenditure or it accepts the probability that there will be no significant nuclear-power industry in this country until the technology has been developed elsewhere and can be reintroduced here. The Committee knows of little support for the latter alternative.

I am convinced that the United States should proceed with an aggressive, forward-looking program, and should be willing to spend the money necessary to achieve the goal of competitive nuclear power. We should also continue our policy of diversification, experimenting with many different types of reactors, rather than settle on one type to the exclusion of new and promising designs.

I HAVE URGED that, in the building of prototypes, we make available government grants of up to 90 per cent of the difference between the estimated cost of a nuclear plant and a conventional power plant, and I have expressed my conviction that governmental assistance should not be barred to either public- or private-power organizations.

I believe, in addition, that we might do well to devote more effort to the development of natural-uranium reactors, which have the advantage of providing an open market for domestic uranium. This type of reactor would also be of great use to our European allies, who do not want to have to depend on us to provide them with enriched fuel as is now the case.

In connection with the civilian-reactor program, let me mention something else. In my opinion, we should not depend too heavily upon the International Atomic Energy Agency or the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). IAEA so far has proved a disappointment, and I am afraid it is going to have difficulty getting under way because of the presence of the

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Soviet Union among its members. I think nations like France and West Germany are likely to prefer dealing with us through Euratom, where they will not have to worry about the Soviet bloc looking over their nuclear shoulders, or are going to want to come to us directly through bilateral agreements.

As for Euratom, I am afraid that we may not get as much benefit out of it as we had hoped if we use it as an excuse for not building reactors in the United States. We are never going to be able to develop our reactor technology through watching the experience of other countries. We must build and operate reactors ourselves in order to get the complete picture of their advantages and disadvantages.

MY ANALYSIS, in this review of our atomic-energy program, is frankly favorable to what Congress has said and done, because I am devoted to the causes for which the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has consistently fought. The Atomic Energy Commission probably has a wholly different outlook and would surely evaluate its own efforts in more glowing terms. My words can represent no more than one man's opinion, but they are the words of a man who has long been in the midst of many militant controversies.

This leads me to suggest that, because of the vast importance of the nation's atomic-energy program, it is becoming increasingly necessary that we improve the working relationships among the diverse persons and agencies involved in it. Unless there is a willingness by people on all sides to admit that there exist genuine differences of opinion, and unless there is a concerted effort to resolve these differences and work together, the United States will never achieve the world leadership in atomic energy which all of us involved in the program believe that it can and should attain.

TIMBER ! ! (Presidential) . . *by Frederic W. Collins*

ALTHOUGH every natural-born American can aspire to the Presidency, only a few hundred, including a bare ninety-eight in the Senate, are now actively campaigning for the vacancy which will occur (in the *de jure* sense, that is) in 1961. While the field is thus restricted, it may be accepted as being of dimensions sufficient to provide a representative sampling of the behavioral characteristics of persons who hear, or think they hear, a call to duty at the top of the heap.

In even a quick survey, certain idiosyncrasies of individual candidates are so conspicuous that they may be noted at once. There is more to Senator Jack Kennedy, for example, than a coiffure arranged, during his plastic years, by facing South in a strong East wind. The most notable thing about Mr. Kennedy is that he needs to form no organization because he was born into one which—from coast to coast and right down to the precinct level— is discovered upon examination to be composed of nothing but Kennedys and their kin by blood and marriage. As long as blood is thicker than politics, the Senator need have no worry about the independent vote or the switch vote.

Outstanding in Nelson Rockefeller's motive pattern is a belief that Americans are a nation of masochists who like to be hit over the head by ever-heavier tax bills and who don't even give a thought to how good it would feel if it ever stopped. His hopes soar highest when he is being booed. Studies show the same background for Governor Ribicoff of Connecticut, who has found that throwing people into jail for speeding wins their massive support at the polls. On the other hand, Richard M. Nixon has concluded that sadism is the stronger strain in the psychopathology of American politics; he travels thousands of miles to be stoned in order to gain popularity. Senator Humphrey manages to be called a liar by Nikita Khrushchev, whose qualifications as a judge are beyond challenge. Senator Johnson races his motor in the hope that sheer manic activity will propel him into the White House. Senator Symington pins his hopes on Joy Through Strength, and Adlai Stevenson works the curious gimmick of not being a Senator, which may be the most ingenious and profitable of all.

With the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Rockefeller's determination to tax, tax and tax, the activities noted above are classifiable simply as political maneuvering. Studies must be conducted on another level to identify the substantive policies favored by the respective candidates. It is seen at once that Mr. Kennedy's idea of a good, substantive program is to marry the labor movement in order to reform it. This subtle operation is complicated by the fact that he and his brother Bob, the chief counsel of what is known as the Senate rackets committee, have so little trouble in dissembling their love for labor. A sensitive unionist might get the idea that Jack didn't really like him or his cause, and that the Kennedy concept of reform might be fairly equated with bondage. Be that as it may, Mr. Kennedy is embarked on a course of introducing at least one item of labor legislation every day. On a rough count, seven pieces of mail bearing Senator Kennedy's frank thud each twenty-four hours onto the desks of Washington's news practitioners, and his zeal may be measured by the fact that now and then they actually come postage paid. His material on strengthening state unemployment-compensation systems cost him personally thirty cents per envelope. It is quite possible, indeed, that his campaign may collapse from sheer exhaustion of stationery. It is a bit puzzling to

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open a piece of mail sent by Mr. Kennedy in an envelope of the Foreign Relations Committee and find inside the draft of a minimum-wage law; but this is balanced by a weighty speech on foreign economic assistance borne in an envelope of the Committee on Labor.

On the borderline between substance and tactics are some other Kennedy operations. He has won the support of Joe Alsop who, as is well known, is principally responsible for the nomination and election of Dwight Eisenhower in 1952. Mr. Alsop is now Laying Great Weight in the public prints on polls bought by Mr. Kennedy. The Senator has suffered the disregard of Mrs. Roosevelt, and in defense has politely pointed out that, being ill, he was not in the Senate at the peak of the McCarthy controversy, which as everyone knows was discussed only in the Senate and never mentioned anywhere else.

Senator Symington is as much a border-state man in policy as in geography. Once he has succeeded in building 1,000 intercontinental missiles for every Russian—man, woman, and child—alive, he can assume that he has gone about as far as a man decently can in serving an issue on which all elements of the national society might find themselves united. After that, he makes his perilous way along the swaying borderline between business and labor, farmers and consumers, spending and saving, and North and South. He maintains his balance by a mysterious gyroscopic device which induces those on the other side of any given issue to say, when he votes against them, "Oh, well, old Stu had to vote that way this time. He's really on our side." No man in the field is deriving more encouragement from less real support than old Stu, who may be fooling himself that Mr. Truman and Jack Arvey are not just two men, but a whole crowd of delegates. Mr. Symington is engaged in the cunning tactic of not projecting an image of himself to the country. If no one is for him, it is equally hard for anyone to be against him. He is a clean slate, and if friendly party professionals can nominate a clean slate, then he can swiftly fill in whatever image might seem most marketable in 1960. The slogan he is trying to put across now, and with singular success, is: "Symington—who's he?" But one remembers the flight of doves in the Democratic convention of 1948, and wonders whether the Symington demonstration in 1960 will include a mass fly-over of B-52s.

Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy

Senator Humphrey stands for education, agriculture, disarmament and peace. Just now he is for Food for Peace, which has what might be called a nice tie-in with agriculture. But he is not likely to run out of Things for Peace. He can be for Cardiology for Peace, Talks with Khrushchev for Peace, Pharmacology for Peace, Loquacity for Peace, Scotch Tape (Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.) for Peace, Cowles Publications in Minnesota for Peace, Stumping for Peace, Running Humphrey for President for Peace, and finally, in the platform committee, for Peace for Peace. Chroniclers of Mr. Humphrey's activities find that he is always late for appointments. It might be thought that he is aiming for the 1962 convention, in case one may be held, but the competition had better watch out that he doesn't reach the convention in 1960 just tardily enough to be the answer to a deadlock.

If Senator Humphrey is the first American candidate ever to make a whistle-stop at Moscow, Senator Lyndon Johnson is the first to regard outer space as part of his constituency. Between space, preparedness and a strong voice in the appropriations for American diplomacy and propaganda, his interests obviously transcend the parochial, and

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he has recently underscored this by making Texas a part of the West rather than the South. Senator Johnson, as he demonstrated at Chicago in 1956, has a limitless capacity to manage everything except his own candidacy for the Presidential nomination. But possessing a sense of mission and a compulsion to lead, he is also a man of whom it may be said, as was once said of a great British Liberal, that his spiritual home is the last ditch. Perhaps he had too good a chance in 1956. Perhaps his best gambit is to find himself in an absolutely hopeless position in 1960. If that happens, hold on to your hats.

Mr. Nixon is following an old-fashioned routine of being all things to all men, which exposes a curious belief on his part that there is no intercommunication among various parts of the United States or among segments of its society. Intermittently he delivers another in his series of William McKinley Memorial Lectures to this or that encampment of the Old Guard; intermittently he leaps to the van of militant progressivism in lecturing some receptive audience like the C.E.D. It never seems to occur to him that all that he says is reported all the time to all the people. Mr. Nixon has the advantage of having served what is now getting to be two terms under an institution having some of the characteristics of an un-President, which has made him look somewhat larger than he is; but he has had the disadvantage of being always in full view, which has had a somewhat contrary effect.

Mr. Rockefeller's line is dutiful diligence. He, like Mr. Dewey so often before him, finds himself too busy with the affairs of the State of New York to spare energy for Presidential nomination. He may even inherit Mr. Dewey's success in maintaining this pose in such a way as to enjoy a full career as a Presidential candidate without ever seriously interrupting the continuity of his tenure as Governor of New York.

Mr. Stevenson has two tricks in his bag. One is that, although twice defeated for the Presidency, he still maintains seniority and intellectual pre-eminence over anyone else the party currently has to offer; the other is to have lived long enough for the 22nd Amendment to eliminate Dwight Eisenhower from the competition. He can give some weight to the prospect that by the time the Eisenhower era draws to a close, there will be enough Americans acutely regretful that they didn't vote for Stevenson in the first place to give him a handsome head start in the voting.

WITH ALL these pieces of information out on the table, the temptation is to seek among them some common denominator of candidate behavior. Summary diagnoses might be made as follows: Kennedy—*Personality;* Rockefeller—*Public Duty;* Symington—*One Big Issue;* Humphrey—*Gab;* Johnson—*Momentum;* Nixon—*Nixonism;* Stevenson—*If at First You Don't Succeed.*

There is no common denominator, except for the single characteristic that not one of them other than Mr. Nixon will admit he is a candidate. (Mr. Nixon, from his place on what he supposed was an escalator, could hardly deny his intentions.) The secret here is not that there is some one good way to run for the Presidency, but that no one running really knows what the best way is.

NATO: Appraisal and Forecast . . *by Geoffrey Barraclough*

London

ON APRIL 4 exactly ten years ago, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington. Appropriate ceremonies this week will mark the anniversary of its signature, which was undoubtedly the most important single occurrence of the postwar years, so far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned. No one can tell what course events would have taken had the pact not been signed. It may be, as its adherents affirm, that but for NATO Western Europe would have been overrun by Soviet Russia. Certainly at the time it was negotiated there were ample grounds for believing that the Kremlin was thinking in terms of an active, perhaps even of an aggressive, foreign policy. The Czech coup, the Berlin blockade, the civil war in Greece, the strength of communism in France and Italy and the possibility of the Communists gaining control in either or in both, all seemed to indicate that Western Europe was hovering on the edge of an abyss. These fears may have been groundless or exaggerated, but they were real; and they were shared not only by the Western governments but also by the Western peoples, the overwhelming majority of whom endorsed the policy of which NATO was the expression.

The object behind the North Atlantic Treaty was to give the countries of Western Europe a sense of security by strengthening their defenses and putting American productive power behind them. No one, looking back, is likely to deny that in substance that objective was achieved. Nor, in the view of the overwhelming majority, was it merely a coincidence that, with the establishment of NATO, Soviet expansion in Europe came to a halt, and that it was halted without war. Thus NATO has come to be regarded, and is still generally regarded, as a bulwark of peace; and it is characteristic that even such notable European left-wing politicians as Nenni, Mendès-France and Aneurin Bevan do not advocate its dissolution. Many people would dissent from the view recently expressed by Paul-

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Henri Spaak, NATO's Secretary-General, that the moment the alliance is weakened or destroyed, we shall be back in the situation which existed from 1945 to 1948. But even the Left, it would appear, is unwilling to dispense with NATO until a practical alternative has been found; and at the present moment the search for an alternative has produced no results.

NEVERTHELESS, as NATO starts its second decade, its future is being questioned on all sides. Even its warmest upholders are conscious of its shortcomings. World conditions have changed in fundamental ways since NATO was formed in 1949; but the organization has not changed with them. Hence the division of opinion is more subtle today than it was ten years ago, during the stormy debates which preceded its inception. Then the division was between those wholeheartedly for and those virulently against the treaty. Today it is between those who fear that the course of events has weakened NATO and who want to patch it up and modernize it, and those, on the other hand, who fear that the rigidity of the alliance, and its purely negative and defensive features, are an obstacle to negotiations at a higher level for reducing tension between East and West. Among the latter are the two keen observers of contemporary affairs, Walter Lippmann and George Kennan; among the former, perhaps the most distinguished is M. Spaak. For Lippmann and Kennan, NATO may be described as a negotiable asset, and they wish to retain it not least of all as a bargaining counter for eventual negotiations with Russia. For Spaak, it is merely a framework which, if it is to survive, must be filled out. "Everyone," he once said in a characteristic passage

> . . . knows perfectly well that a purely military alliance is inadequate. . . . It is necessary to give the alliance an economic and even a political support. The army is only an instrument of policy, but although there is a common army, there is no common policy.

These divergencies, criticisms, doubts and hesitations are louder today, as NATO reaches the end of its first ten years, and they have been reinforced by recent events, particularly since 1955; but in many respects they were there from the beginning. NATO may have been a necessary political gesture in the circumstances of 1949; but it was an imperfect political instrument and perhaps even a dubious military asset. When it is argued that at least it prevented further Soviet expansion, it is fair to reply that if it did so, it was for psychological rather than for military reasons. The military forces at the disposal of NATO, which even today amount at most to twenty-one of the irreducible minimum of thirty divisions demanded by General Norstad nearly three years ago, have never been sufficient even to perform the function of a "trip-wire," still less (as originally envisaged) of a shield. If the Soviet advance was held up, it was not because of NATO but because of the American lead in A- and then in H-bombs. Once that lead was lost, once for all practical purposes the two sides had achieved nuclear parity, the situation was irremediably changed. The question was not whether the ideas behind NATO had become obsolete, but whether they had become irrelevant.

LONG before this stage was reached, the imperfections of NATO had made themselves felt. As Spaak has more than once admitted, the alliance was hastily improvised as an emergency measure: its real problems began after it was signed. Of these problems, the most formidable was how to give it substance. By the terms of the treaty the member-states had undertaken to "maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack"; but it was not long before it became evident that any considerable military expansion was problematical. All the European members, when it came to the point, proved reluctant to shoulder the burden of meeting the stipulated military objectives. France in particular, faced by civil war in North Africa, withdrew its best troops from Europe, and has still not offered to bring them back. Great Britain, faced by economic pressures and balance-of-payment problems, made substantial cuts in its continental contingent. Among the other countries some proved, on balance, more of a liability than an asset. Hardly had Greece and Turkey, for example, been enrolled as NATO members in 1952 than they became embroiled with each other and with England over Cyprus; and although the Cyprus question has now been settled, the net result of involvement in the eastern Mediterranean has been to over-extend and weaken, rather than to strengthen, NATO. Politically, the adhesion of the smaller countries may have been essential, if NATO were to be a representative body; but militarily they contributed little. From a military point of view all turned on Germany. It was evident within a few months of its inception that NATO could not provide an effective defense without a massive German contribution amounting to 500,000 men and a trained reserve of 150,000 annually; and a long period was spent debating the angry question of German rearmament. The decision, in 1955, to admit the Federal Republic and to rearm it, was the turning point in the history of the alliance; but the twelve German divisions promised for 1959, the immediate need for which was the determinative motive for the decision, have still not materialized, and will not be ready until 1961.

The admission of Western Germany profoundly affected the character of NATO. The very fact that the Western military experts regarded the twelve German divisions as indispensable gave the Federal Republic the whip hand, and the West German Chancellor exploited his advantage with great deftness. It was not only that Germany secured for itself the place once held by France in the alliance. Far more important, it used its position to insure that NATO should subserve the objectives of German policy: reunification on West German terms and, if possible, the recovery of the eastern territories lost to Poland in 1945. Adenauer, even more than Dulles, became the dominant figure — or, as some would say, the evil genius—

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of the alliance. To date he has not failed to hold the United States to the German line. His periodic visits to Washington insured that the State Department would resist pressures from England and France to seek a *modus vivendi* with the Communist bloc on the basis of the current distribution of forces. In this way NATO, conceived originally as a defensive measure to check Soviet expansion, has been transformed under German pressure into an instrument for implementing those specific Western political aims in which the Federal Republic is primarily interested. Thanks to Adenauer and the influence he exercises in Washington, NATO has acquired that characteristic rigidity which, in the view of increasing numbers of observers, has made it an obstacle to *détente*. However salutary its functions in earlier years, since 1955 its existence has visibly hardened the division between East and West. All the plans for disengagement brought forward in the last four years — the Eden plan, the Rapacki plan, the Gaitskell plan, the Kennan proposals — have foundered on this rock.

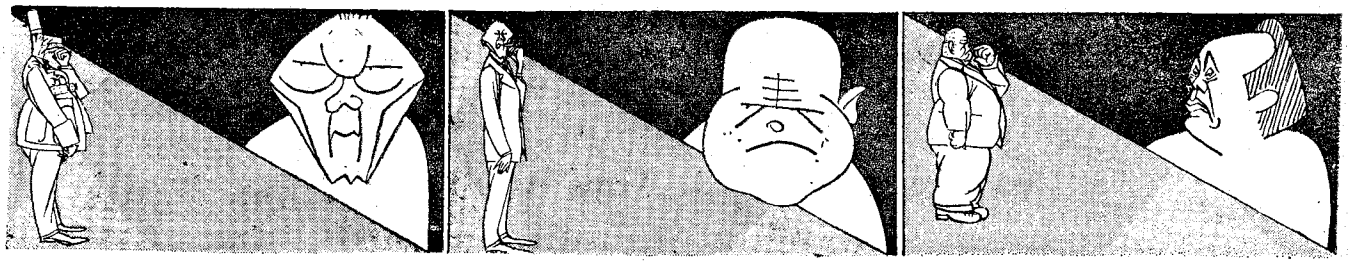
IT IS THIS rigidity, and the negative attitudes of NATO, which render it suspect, as we have seen, to one side in the current debate. If the aims of policy should look beyond a fragile and uneasy coexistence across armed frontiers under the shadow of the hydrogen bomb, NATO as at present operating seems to stand in the way of more hopeful developments. It has become entrenched and embedded in a way in which, curiously enough, its Eastern counterpart, the Warsaw Pact, has not. On the other side, however, what gives rise to fears for the future is its present inadequacy, both structural and geographical. It may be true that NATO checked Soviet policy in Europe; but it certainly did not contain it. On the contrary, it only diverted the Soviet drive to other areas and to other methods. From the time of the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Moscow has relied on economic rather than on military pressures. Hence the question today is whether NATO is an effective instrument against the new Soviet policy of the Khrushchev era. Dulles has argued that, since Soviet strategy today is global, NATO strategy must be global also. This argument, which implies that every NATO nation has an interest in the Middle and Far East, seems, however, to take too little account of the inherent limitations of what is essentially a European alliance backed by the United States. It also means that NATO may be identified with the national objectives of its member-states in different parts of the world — Britain in the Persian Gulf, for example, or the Dutch in Indonesia — and this could be fatal in two ways. First, it would inevitably attract the hostility of the ex-colonial peoples. Secondly, it might split the alliance open, ranging on one side those countries, among which Western Germany is pre-eminent, for whom the original purpose of the alliance — namely, defense in Europe — still comes first, against those who believe that the gravest threat today lies in the Middle and Far East and in Africa.

Even with Europe, however, now that the internal political position in all European countries has been stabilized and the likelihood of a Soviet frontal attack has subsided, the question of the next step forward remains undecided. Indeed, the very fact that a direct military threat is no longer regarded as imminent—in spite of the Berlin scare —has brought to the fore internal differences which, in the early years of NATO, had been suppressed in the interests of Western solidarity. The attempt to transform NATO, in accordance with Spaak's recipes, from a military into an economic and political association, far from reducing the problem or making the alliance more effective, has only shown up its inherent difficulties. At one stage it seemed as though the implementation of Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which pledged the members to "seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies" and to "encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them," was the most hopeful way of meeting the growing doubts whether NATO as a military alliance was a sufficiently firm foundation for Western cooperation. But the results to date have only shown how deceptive such hopes were. The creation of the six-nation Common Market produced a division between those NATO members within and those outside the European Economic Community; and the sharp break between Great Britain and Scandinavia on the one side, and France backed by Germany on the other, over the free-trade zone constitutes today perhaps the most dangerous threat to NATO's internal unity and cohesion.

BUT THE REAL doubts about NATO's future go deeper. Stresses and strains are the lot of all alliances, and if it were only a question of overcoming difficulties of this sort, reappraisal would be easy. What calls NATO's future in question, on the contrary, is the revolution in military strategy and the shift in world perspectives which have marked the last half of the past decade.

View toward the East

Simplicissimus (Munich)



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The development of the H-bomb and long-range and intermediate-range missiles has created a new military situation. The value of NATO in military eyes has long consisted primarily, if not exclusively, in the fact that it provided a forward base from which, in the event of war, retaliatory attacks could be launched against the Soviet Union. Bases in Europe along the Soviet perimeter are, in Western calculations, the greatest of all deterrents. But today, in view of the proved Soviet proficiency in the use of missiles, it is no longer clear who is deterring whom. The NATO governments, it is true, have agreed to the equipment of their forces with 1,500-mile intermediate missiles; but, having regard to Soviet threats of retaliation, each is naturally reluctant to see them sited on its own territory. The development of long-range intercontinental missiles has affected the situation more fundamentally still, since it carries with it the grim implication that the Soviet Union can now launch an attack against the United States itself. This vision of a war between continents has necessarily affected the value of forward bases.

The NATO bases in Europe are still, beyond doubt, a threat to Russia; but they are also a threat to the European countries involved. At the same time they are ceasing to be a safeguard for the United States, and sooner or later this is a fact which United States strategy will have to take into account. When it does so, it is safe to say, NATO as it exists today will be one of the first victims.

IT WOULD be easy to conclude that the time has come to wind up NATO. But such a conclusion would be at least premature. Certainly, as the focus of international affairs veers away from Europe, its role in the second decade of its existence is unlikely to match the part it has played in the last ten years. From 1949 to 1959 NATO has been the dominant factor in Western political calculations: most aspects of policy have been measured—often with unfortunate results—by whether they were likely to strengthen or to weaken NATO. It is neither likely nor desirable that it should retain the same dominant role in the future. It is unlikely because in the present era of global politics China and Japan and the Eastern Pacific are every bit as important in the long-term calculations of policy-makers in the Pentagon and the State Department as is Europe, and because the nationalisms of Asia and Africa and the Middle East offer better opportunities to Moscow than the stable conditions now obtaining in all the Western European countries. It is undesirable because determination to maintain NATO at all costs and irrespective of other factors can only stand in the way of an evolution of policy along constructive lines.

Nothing, it is true, would be gained at the present juncture by demolishing NATO without substantial matching concessions from the other side. But nothing, equally surely, will be gained if the West has no policy beyond maintaining it as an end in itself. For a number of years the idea was propagated that NATO must be built up to provide a foundation for "negotiation from strength"; but "negotiation from strength" has proved the great illusion of postwar Western policy. Nevertheless, it still remains true that NATO can be justified only if its existence furthers the chances of a settlement between East and West. The charge against it, on the other hand, is that its very existence prejudices the chances of such a settlement. These two contrary propositions go to the heart of the dilemma which faces us at the end of NATO's first decade.

It is certainly legitimate, in the present state of world affairs, for the Atlantic powers to want to hold together. But, in the thermonuclear age, there are strict limits to the efficacy of a military alliance. The thermonuclear revolution has made war unthinkable as an instrument of policy, and it is certain that war offers no solution for either side today. The revulsion against the idea that the West should fight its way through to Berlin, using its nuclear weapons if necessary, shows only too clearly the limitations of military power. No people in the world today is ready to accept the risks of nuclear extinction, except as a last resort when their very existence is threatened. Merely to strengthen NATO by rearming with nuclear weapons, therefore, answers none of the questions. To possess the means of retaliation may be a necessary foundation for policy, but it is not a substitute for policy.

ON THE other hand, the widely expressed fears that any step—for example, the establishment of a neutralized zone in central Europe—which appears to weaken NATO or limit its freedom of action, will put the West back in the position of 1949, are certainly exaggerated. Western strength is not merely or even primarily a military matter; it depends on self-confidence, economic stability and a belief that the system is working. In all these respects the contrast between 1949 and 1959 could scarcely be greater. Nowhere in Europe today is there a possibility of an indigenous Communist Party securing control, which even in 1949 was the precondition of any Soviet move. This means, in effect, that NATO has accomplished its primary purpose: it has put the West in a position to bargain or negotiate with the Soviet Union on terms of parity. Logically, such negotiations are the next step. Until East-West negotiations have taken place, there are strong arguments for maintaining NATO. But it would be self-defeating if its existence were allowed to limit the scope of possibilities of East-West negotiations. If a settlement appears to be within reach by which the threat of nuclear war can be lifted, the West must be prepared to negotiate about NATO's future, rather than jeopardize the chances of settlement. That does not mean an end of the political association of the European and North Atlantic powers, for their cooperation expresses a community of interests more durable than NATO; but greater flexibility, and awareness that NATO has performed its main objective, could mean the beginning of a new chapter. It would be foolish to deny NATO's contribution to the security of the West in a critical period. But today the situation is different: nothing short of a world security organization can meet the needs of the nuclear age.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

'Why Did She Turn So?'

COLLISION COURSE. By Alvin Moscow. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 316 pp. $4.50.

George Kirstein

EVEN the largest luxury liners are less than a thousand feet long — mere microbes on the vast reaches of the sea. By mathematical calculation, they could steam endless distances through aeons of time without ever meeting at precisely the same spot at the same instant. And the odds against that meeting are reinforced by our knowledge that trained men, using the most advanced techniques of modern science, bend every effort to avoid collision. Yet ships collide frequently — three times daily throughout the world — accidents involving more than 1,000 ships a year.

Indeed, the unlikely chance encounter is a common human experience — so common that it is woven into the fabric of most novels. All of us have been at a dog show or other event in a distant city and encountered by chance our next-door neighbor. An instant before the meeting, we would accept a sizeable bet against the encounter. Yet when it occurs, we greet our friend warmly and exchange expressions of incredulity at the long odds that have been fulfilled. In analyzing the encounter, the odds, perhaps, should not have been so great as we at first thought; for in addition to a common interest in dogs, both of us have business interests or relatives in that city. Nevertheless, these chance encounters are so improbable that we do not normally conduct our lives as if they occurred at all. And for precisely the same reason, neither do shipmasters act as though collision were imminent or probable, despite their knowledge that the paths of their charges tend to converge in the common purpose of entering the great harbors of the world.

Consider the night of July 25, 1956. The *Stockholm*, outbound from New York, was plowing along towards Sweden on a calm moonlit night south of Martha's Vineyard off the New England coast. Inbound from Italy, on the reciprocal course, having rounded the Nantucket light vessel and running on her final leg to New York, steamed the beautiful Italian liner, *Andrea Doria*. Both ships had the latest equipment to ease the problems of navigation and to make collision impossible: radar, radio direction finders, loran, gyroscopic compasses, course recorders, electronic depth finders and a multitude of other safety devices. Both ships were commanded by experienced seamen. Yet they collided. How did it happen? Who was to blame?

Alvin Moscow, an Associated Press reporter, answers the first question fully in *Collision Course*. He does not answer the second question directly, because, as he points out, no court of law has ever placed the blame. But the facts which he meticulously gathered on his journalistic assignment to cover the legal proceedings, and in later painstaking research into the disaster, allow the informed reader to reach his own conclusion. Mr. Moscow is as impartial as anyone could desire in describing the conflicting stories of the events leading to the collision.

THE situation can be visualized by any layman who has ever driven an automobile. You (in this case the *Stockholm*) are driving along a straight road at night. Far ahead, you see the gleam of an oncoming car's headlights. As it approaches you realize that the car is crowding your side — perhaps is even over the white dividing line. You curse softly at the other driver's ineptness and pull further to the right. The cars are now nearly abreast and the other driver still has not regained his side of the road. A collision is imminent. You desperately swing your wheel to the right in a final effort to pull off the road entirely and onto the soft bordering shoulder. To your incredulous amazement, the oncoming car, instead of veering right, attempts to avoid disaster by swinging sharply to his left to pass you on the wrong side. The front of your car hits him squarely in the side as he swerves across your headlights.

And so the *Stockholm's* bow smashed into the *Andrea Doria's* side. The oncoming headlights of the illustration were in actuality pips on the radar screens of the two approaching vessels. They had each other electronically in sight for miles as they approached through banks of fog. On the Swedish ship, the third mate began immediately plotting the course and speed of the oncoming vessel. This is easily done in much the way that you can determine the direction and speed of a walker seen at a distance. By noting his direction from you at successive moments, you can tell whether he is departing from or converging on your own path and can even determine his approximate pace. Indeed, this exercise is so simple, when done with radar, that I have frequently seen an experienced navigator work out the other vessel's course and speed in his head before the watch officer had completed his formal calculations on graph paper. Yet on the *Andrea Doria* this simple calculation was never made. The graph paper remained in its drawer in the chart room and none of the officers made the mental calculation. Two ships hurtling at each other through the night and the mist at a combined speed of forty knots, and one was not sure of the other's direction. It's incredible.

Mr. Moscow describes the tragedy that followed the collision with a journalist's eye for detail. Any newspaperman would recognize this as one of the great stories of the year, and of course the newspapers that night vied with one another to report the disaster. The staff of *The New York Times*, which mobilized efficiently to beat every other paper onto the street, waited patiently for an on-the-scene report from its crack Madrid correspondent, Camille Cianfarra, who was a passenger, with his wife, on the ship. The story never came, of course, because Cianfarra and his daughter were killed by the *Stockholm's* bow. I am told by those who knew him that, even if he had lived, the *Times* would have had to wait for its story. Cianfarra would unquestionably have joined the rescue operations even at the expense of a newspaperman's dream — the eye-witness account of the big story.

And leadership was badly needed that night on the Italian ship. No clear announcements came from the bridge, no systematic search was made for victims of the crash. Many of the *Andrea Doria's* crew, mostly waiters and kitchen help, filled the first life boats which left the stricken ship. Mr. Moscow narrates the almost indescribable confusion by recounting the individual experiences of many passengers. Of cowardice, there was much. And of heroism, too. The account of the marvelous and sustained effort by steward Giovanni Rovelli to help passenger Dr. Peterson free his wife and Mrs. Cianfarra from the wreckage adds lustre to the annals of the sea.

GEORGE KIRSTEIN was a watch officer in U.S.S. General John Pope *during World War II.*

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Eventually gallant passengers assisted crew members to bring some kind of order from the chaos.

But while this confusion, simultaneously demonstrating the frailty and fineness of man, was occurring, on all sides of the stricken vessel the brotherhood of the sea was having one of its brilliant hours. As soon as the SOS crackled out to all ships, the responses began coming in. The United Fruiter, *Cape Ann*, came pounding through the fog at maximum speed. The Navy transport *Thomas* altered course and sped to the scene. The Tidewater oiler *Hopkins* sent word she was coming full speed with her two life boats. And best of all, the *Ile de France*, which had left New York at the same time as the *Stockholm*, but which, being faster, was well ahead, turned around and plowed back through the fog at maximum speed. As she came alongside the stricken *Doria*, her 10-foot electric block letters lit up so that all present would know that France on the high seas had come to the rescue.

For the most incredible fact about this incredible disaster was that the *Doria* was sinking. The seamen who responded to the SOS that night knew that collision was possible; none believed a modern ship, one of the greatest in the world, could sink. The *Doria* took on an initial list right after the collision which made it impossible to launch half her boats. Her list increased as the night went on. And Mr. Moscow leaves no doubt that the final humility to a great ship, capsizing and sinking, could have been prevented if the *Doria's* officers had been in the habit of taking routine measures to stabilize their ship. As a ship crosses the ocean, she consumes great weights of fuel oil which are stored in tanks near the bottom. Unless this fuel is replaced by sea water, the ship will tend to become top heavy. The *Doria* did not replace her fuel with salt water because of the time and expense involved in cleaning out tanks and lightering away the oily water in port. Had no collision occurred, she would merely have rolled further to the sea's swells. But when the *Stockholm's* bow opened her up to the inrushing sea, she did not have the stability which her designers had planned to avoid excessive listing in extreme situations.

Mr. Moscow ends his book with speculation as to the probability of another similar disaster. He concludes, "One cannot foretell." Oh, but one can. All the miracles of modern science will not offset the human error that brings huge ships into collision. Indeed, *Collision Course* had not been published a month when two vessels collided off Atlantic City in an accident that was almost a reenactment of the *Stockholm-Andrea Doria* disaster. In this case, neither ship was in danger of sinking. But that threat too will come again, and as certainly as it does, it can be predicted that there will be acts of heroism and acts of cowardice. Once again the brotherhood of the sea will function in its orderly precision as the SOS cracks out over the emergency channel; once again, ships, whether they fly the Stars and Stripes, the Sickle and Hammer, the Red Star of China or the Tricolor of France, will turn toward the disaster and surge at their best speed, lifeboats swung out, to the scene.

The Pride and the Guilt

THE GREAT PRINCE DIED. By Bernard Wolfe. Scribner's. 398 pp. $4.50.

Herbert Gold

FOR some years now Bernard Wolfe has been delighting a small group of admirers with his special gift as a storyteller. *Really the Blues*, his only book to gain a wide audience, is a kind of hoax — a deadpan pseudo-autobiographical story about Mezz Mezzrow, one of the great conmen of jazz. *Limbo*, which followed, is a science fiction allegory in which psychology and politics and pure fancy are served up without clear distinction between the fun, the horror, and the moral intention. *In Deep* is a melodrama of revolution, set in Cuba, with elements of the chase thriller combined with an effort to define the psychology of politics. *The Late Risers*, probably Wolfe's best book until *The Great Prince Died*, is a brilliant and witty depth study of the little show biz world of midtown Manhattan — actresses and call girls, petty publicity people and their prey. (Incidentally, in the Negro heroin peddler called "Movement," it gives perhaps the first and surely the best portrait of what has come to be a fad and a cliché during the past few years, the hipster.)

The Great Prince Died should finally make Wolfe's serious vocation as a novelist clear to the large public he deserves. This complex story, based on the public romance of Trotsky's life and death, carries the elements which have always marked Wolfe's work — a rambunctious use of abstract rhetoric, a persuasive interest in sex and psychology, and a fascination reminiscent of certain European novelists in the melodrama of ideas.

However, the special character of Wolfe's imagination has found its natural subject in Leon Trotsky, who was both an abstract and a witty soul, and in the phenomenon of Trotsky's career, with its tragic successes and reverses and ultimate defeat. Trotsky did not dwindle to insignificance; he flickered, flagged, suffered from his own flaws, and went out finally in a blaze of terror and violence. Bernard Wolfe renders this experience with an astonishing depth of feeling. It is not history disguised as fiction that he offers us; history has been employed as the material of fiction in such a way as to give us, finally, the original sensation implied in the word "uncanny." First we recognize the history, then we recognize the distortion provided by an inventive, perspective-shifting imagination, and then, uncannily, we are returned to history with the sense of a powerful reinterpretation of one of the great careers of the twentieth century to which myth naturally clings.

THE story, of course, is not a work of history, although as an event in that history it will be reckoned in future evaluations of the Trotsky period. Wolfe's analysis of Trotsky's self-destructive impulse is convincing, both for the facts he has gathered and for the logic he develops from them. However, the book is not another case of special pleading, either; it is a tragic tale of the career of a "great prince" who, like Oedipus and Hamlet, destroyed himself out of a stubborn pride. Trotsky thought he could do anything and, as in a childish dream, seemed in fact to be omnipotent for a time. The fatal misstep, a sin of pride and of ruthlessness, Trotsky's Kronstadt, haunts this novel as does the crime of Oedipus in Sophocles' play. With masterly control, the theme of expediency at Kronstadt — betrayal of an ideal in the name of an ideal — is echoed in a multiplicity of incidents. The last one, concerning the liberal Mexican general of police, caught in his own small Kronstadt after Trotsky's murder, provides the final shock of irony and control. "For once — for the love of God — you must lower your eyes to some trivial piece of ground!" cries General Ortega.

Bernard Wolfe has been one of the few serious political novelists now at

HERBERT GOLD's forthcoming novel is The Optimist.

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work in America. Curiously enough, this story seems to represent, in its judgment of the politics of violence, a disaffiliation from political interest in general. The passions of love and disgust which go into the picture of Trotsky and his symbolic "children" — his prodigals, his Cains and Abels, his great erring passionate family — give the book something of the intense suffering and release of an autobiographical family novel. It is an "Oedipal novel" in which the world of the family has been enlarged to the world of post-1919 politics. The discovery of the hidden crime of Kronstadt occasions the destruction of the paternal ideal, though the note of admiration and compassion for Trotsky as a man is never abandoned in the critique of Trotsky as a political thinker and operator.

The control which has gathered these materials together — factual evidence, personal involvement in the agony of decision about Trotsky, play of psychological insight and political ideas — is manifested in a prose of remarkable density and texture. The idealistic fanatic making love to the carnival Zebra woman, Trotsky fleeing his incarceration within his own guilt in order to hunt butterflies, the assassin caught and squirming in the grip of the Stalinist secret police network — these fictions on which history has been weaved provide the material of a complex and disturbing work of art.

Language of Analysis

THEORY OF PSYCHOANALYTIC TECHNIQUE. By Karl A. Menninger. Basic Books. 179 pp. $4.75.

Manuel Manrique

WITH the beginning of psychoanalysis, a new system and indeed a complicated *language* was created. Since then most authors interested in psychoanalytic precepts have used a method of written or verbal description which is almost incomprehensible to the uninitiated. Some, following their inclination to literary obscurity, others, obeying their drive toward intellectual jugglery, have presented us with a linguistic panorama which, to say the least, has complicated the already difficult terminology in this field of scientific endeavor. To his great credit, Karl Menninger now comes forward in *Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique* with a superb simplification of all aspects of the analytic situation from the beginning of the contract between patient and analyst to the dissolution of the agreement.

It is not easy to explain the bases of psychoanalytic therapy in clear and precise terms, but Menninger has achieved a level of didactic writing which gives the reader the satisfaction of effortless understanding. He takes command of the reader and carries him — not as a spectator but rather as an interested party — throughout the fascinating process of a psychoanalysis.

Menninger begins with the practical and psychological connotations implicit in the initial interview, in which "the rules of the game" are set, giving special emphasis to the financial arrangements. The unconscious mechanisms operating in every transaction may be of little importance in daily business, but in psychoanalytical therapy it is essential to study and elucidate the unconscious nuances of the monetary agreement between patient and analyst.

ONCE treatment has started regression occurs, that is to say, the pendulum swings backward as a preliminary step to an advance toward a healthy state. In this process transference and counter-transference take place and throughout its vicissitudes resistances appear which are all open to interpretation and other *neutral* interventions by the analyst. In this manner the analysis progresses to a point at which it becomes desirable or even imperative to terminate the process. Menninger warns of the danger represented by the fact that not only the patient but also the analyst is sometimes tempted to evade the question of termination. This crisis brings forward the eternal riddle: What is "disease" and what is "health" in terms of mental processes? Does analytic therapy ever achieve the "total cure" of the patient?

The theoretical criteria for termination of analysis is rather elusive, but Menninger gives a satisfactory formulation when he quotes a patient who is able to say: "By not giving me what I thought I needed from him the analyst gave me what I most needed; namely, a better self-understanding, a better capacity for discrimination, greater tolerance for unavoidable dissatisfaction, a clearer view of my needs. In a symbolic sense, the analyst has given me himself, and I felt free to take his gift. I do not need his help any more."

Fittingly enough, *Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique* is a compilation

MANUEL MANRIQUE, M.D., a New York psychoanalyst, has published two novels and several short stories, in addition to professional papers.

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of a series of lectures delivered by Menninger to his pupils in seminars at the Topeka Institute of Psychoanalysis. There is no doubt as to the mastery of Menninger's teaching and one is grateful for his statement that he "shall continue to teach and to search."

Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique is a document of superlative teaching from which the student of psychoanalysis as well as the lay reader will derive extraordinary benefits. Since Lawrence Kubie wrote *Practical Aspects of Psychoanalysis* no other book that I know in this field has the validity of Menninger's work.

Russian Stories

SHORT STORIES OF RUSSIA TODAY. Edited by Yvonne Kapp. Translated by Tatiana Shebunina. Houghton Mifflin Company. 250 pp. *$3.50.*

Gleb Struve

THE EIGHTEEN stories in this volume have been translated and, presumably, selected in Moscow (though edited in London). The translation is quite competent and reads well. The selection raises several questions. In the first place, there is little justification for describing these stories as representing Soviet Russian literature today: six of them appeared in print in the 1930s, and four were written during World War II. Only seven belong to the post-Stalin period. Some of the better-known writers (Leonov, Fedin, Sholokhov, Olesha, and others) are absent from this collection; others are represented by relatively insignificant trifles. Prishvin's hunting-dog sketch is not one of the best among the numerous similar pieces by this fine and sensitive poet of nature and animal life. Vera Inber's "Nor-Bibi's Crime" is a rather slick propaganda piece on the subject of emancipation of women in Soviet Central Asia. Nikolay Tikhonov's "A Cavalcade," with its Caucasian setting and its suggestively poetic atmosphere, is somewhat reminiscent of Lermontov's "Taman"; though not one of the best by this author, who has often been called the Russian Kipling, it is easily one of the best in this volume.

Some of the stories read like poor imitations of Chekhov's early comic stories, while one — "The Mother" by the late Vasily Riakhovsky (1939) — though not without both psychological and social interest, smacks of a parody on Chekhov. Its main characters are a Red Army officer, crippled in the 1938 clash with the Japanese and recovering in a Crimean sanatorium, and his mother who comes to visit him from her faraway collective farm village.

Most disappointing, in their almost unrelieved drabness and mediocrity, are the stories by the little-known younger writers (born between 1915 and 1930). Although representing the period of relative relaxation of Party controls over literature (1955-6), they are both undistinguished as literary works and uninteresting as social documents. The only exception is "The Night Guest" by Yury Nagibin (b. 1920), who had already attracted attention by his story in the controversial collection called *Literary Moscow* (1956) and who has one or two volumes of stories to his credit. The story here has no political significance. Nor is there anything strikingly novel or original about Nagibin's manner. In many ways he is in the Turgenev tradition — Turgenev of *The Sportsman's Sketches*. The scene is laid in a fishing lodge, apparently in the backwoods of Central Russia. Nagibin's slow-paced description of nature and of the delights of fishing are coupled with fine powers of characterization. His main character is quite interesting and unhackneyed, and it is a pity that this otherwise excellent story is marred by a rather lame ending.

To sum up: if one is to regard this volume as typical of Soviet literature in the last twenty-five years, one cannot avoid the thought that it has declined since the early, "storm-and-stress" days in the twenties.

GLEB STRUVE, author of Soviet Russian Literature, *is a professor in the Department of Slavic Languages, the University of California.*

April Fool

birds sing and my
son too, in the
morning.
with words, without
words, in the morning.
singing inside the
house, outside the house,
in the morning.
it's five o'clock in the morning.
she's silk smooth
beside me, doesn't stir;
the older boy stays
sleeping, doesn't stir.
like birds, like
a houseful of birds.
and me the early
worm.

J. L. OPPENHEIMER

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THEATRE

Harold Clurman

A RAISIN IN THE SUN by a young Negro woman, Lorraine Hansberry, (Ethel Barrymore) might be called an old-fashioned play—which should not be taken to mean that it is not a good one. It may have escaped our attention that although American drama is very largely realistic, there has been a tendency in the past twenty-five years or so not only to veil our realism with a silk of poetry, a kind of disguised romanticism, but to extend it with a suggestion of social interpretation too bashful to be dubbed propaganda. Our new realism is something more than a picture of a concrete state of affairs. It is a generalization from a commonly known situation heightened by moral fervor and oblique lyric expression.

A Raisin in the Sun shows some of these latter traits but its inspiration is in a certain sense less ambitious and more plainly specific than that of the neo-realist writers, who usually are filled with a desire to express themselves and thus to produce art and literature. Miss Hansberry simply wants to say what she has seen and experienced, because to her these things are sufficiently important in themselves. This is what I mean when I call her play "old-fashioned."

She is right. While the drift away from naturalism in the American theatre is healthy, it is entirely false to assume that we have no further use for the old realism. America is still but little explored as far as a significant stage realism goes. The poetic realism we have been cultivating in recent years often grows fuzzy or mushy. It needs the control of a severe probity in regard to reality and the exercise of discipline in language. The traditional realistic play needs genuine identification with its subject matter (the realist should never be an investigator in the slums) in addition to objectivity and heart.

A Raisin in the Sun is authentic: it is a portrait of the aspirations, anxieties, ambitions and contradictory pressures affecting humble Negro folk in an American big city — in this instance Chicago. It is not intended as an appeal to whites or as a preachment for Negroes. It is an honestly felt response to a situation that has been lived through, clearly understood and therefore simply and impressively stated. Most important of all: having been written from a definite point of view (that of a participant) with no eye toward meretricious possibilities in showmanship and public relations, the

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play throws light on aspects of American life quite outside the area of race.

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There are some *longueurs* in the script, and Lloyd Richards, who has directed the play admirably, has sentimentalized the ending a bit by permitting the actors (Miss McNeill particularly) to become somewhat picturesquely heroic, but such slight flaws are noticeable only because the whole occasion is so extraordinarily gratifying.

ROYAL GAMBIT, a prize-winner in Berlin 1957, is the work of a German writer, Herman Gressieker (Sullivan St. Playhouse). Technically it stands at the opposite pole from Miss Hansberry's play. In content and stagecraft, it is almost totally abstract and intellectual. It employs Henry VIII and his six wives as figures rather than as people (though here and there we find a nice note of personal characterization) in a presentation that has something in it of an illustrated lecture or what Brecht called an "instruction piece."

Henry VIII is taken as the archetype of the modern — Renaissance — man, at once the augury and embodiment of the scientific age. The play's thesis is that modern man has become separated from the concept of divinity, he has replaced spirit with calculation, understanding with statistics, and has finally made the earth a mere base for further operations on other planets. If the play were a bit more specific one might say that its direction was not only religious but clerical, not only anti-modern but reactionary. Yet this might well be inaccurate as well as unfair, for as the text now stands in its adaptation by George White the play is an amalgam of ideas and sentiments which chiefly reflect the apprehension about the future we all share, a skepticism about science when it is not rooted in humane grounds, misgivings about freedom when it knows no limitation apart from individual will.

If the play were more patently an argument, I might attempt to debate its philosophical position, though theatre critics are not supposed to have any ideas on such subjects (in which case, by the way, the critics are almost useless). But, though it assumes a forthright and even controversial air, the play is intellectually too vague to warrant rejoinder. Its particular tone is fairly Germanic — like a heartfelt discourse by a vigorous, occasionally witty, lay pastor given to the terminology of high cultural dispute.

Royal Gambit is well produced and its most attractive feature (apart from its being "different") is the fine young company which acts the play with assurance, intelligence and a kind of rhetorical flair rare off and on Broadway.

MUSIC

Lester Trimble

THE MORE I listen to works by twelve-tone and serial-method composers, the more I become convinced that a great many of them are the *same* work, woven by the bolt and cut off by the yard for showing. Two records before me at the moment contain examples of such music. One is an issue by Epic of the *Sestina* for voice and instrumental ensemble by Ernst Krenek and of the same composer's *Lamentatio Jeremiae Phophatae*, Op. 93 (LC-3509). It was underwritten by the Fromm Music Foundation. The other, a Westminster disc, couples *Le Marteau Sans Maître* by the young Frenchman, Pierre Boulez, with *Oiseaux Exotiques*, by his compatriot and teacher, Olivier Messiaen (XWN-18746).

The Messiaen piece is a complex of bird calls, banal color, and uninteresting rhythms. Krenek's *Sestina* and Boulez's *Le Marteau* are more arresting but, at the same time, just as problematical. They fall into a category of total abstractionism, expressed through a vocabulary of microscopically fragmented sounds and gestures. High coloration is achieved by using such special instrumental sonorities as are produced by the vibraphone, guitar, xylophone, orchestral bells, solo trumpet, and the extreme registers of the flute. Of the two works, the *Sestina* has a richer harmonic texture and a relatively unexotic flavor. A soprano part (sung by Bethany Beardslee) winds its way through the prismatic instrumental sounds with the bereft, contorted, half-hiccuping manner dear to so many twelve-tonists. Boulez's *Le Marteau*, through a different series of complex numerical calculations, arrives at a somewhat different, more deliberately exotic sound. Here again, though, discontinuity, fragmentation, and contortion of gesture prevail. The vocal part, sung by contralto Marie Therese Cahn to surrealist poems by René Char, is, like the Krenek voice part, highly artificial.

Krenek's *Lamentatio Jeremiae Prophatae*, though a twelve-tone work, differs from the others in many aspects. Probably because of the technical limitations of choral writing, it does not indulge in elaborate pointillist techniques. Its tone-row being based on four notes of the Gregorian intonation of the *Lamentatio*, the results have a rather pseudo-archaic sound, tinctured with some sweetish harmonizations. It gives me the impression of a composer tiptoeing among the notes of his tone-row

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finding significances in even the plainest, unison renderings of the sequence. I do not discern these significances.

I have listened to both of these recordings many times, and have come to the conclusion that their contents are fundamentally an elaborate bore: *so* serious, *so* stiff, so preoccupied with minutiae. There is no doubt that they possess a certain beauty of timbre. Having given up many expressive dimensions, the composers have had to concentrate upon instrumental color, attempting to make it a dimension in itself. But the music is woefully lacking in warmth. It demands much, but satisfies little.

INDEED it was with considerable relief that I turned from it to a record of Victoria's (1548-1611) *Requiem Mass* sung by the Choir of the Abbey of Mount Angel and the Portland Symphonic Choir. Here one could enjoy the fullness of expression and the real sophistication which genuinely archaic composition can possess. Victoria was a Master, a contemporary of Palestrina and Lassus, and this Mass is as moving, in its own way, as a Beethoven Symphony. The direction by Dom David Nicholson, O.S.B., and C. Robert Zimmerman, of the Portland Choir, is perfect; the sound of the two choirs, beautiful (RCA Victor LM-2254).

Another record of early music, that of the fifteenth century composer, Guillaume Dufay, has been made by the Dessoff Choirs under conductor Paul Boepple, with Leslie Chabay as tenor soloist. The disc includes hymns with and without instrumental support, a chorus from a Mass, and various types of songs. The music is well performed, though occasionally with less fluency and immediacy than it deserves (Bach Guild BG-582).

For those who enjoy shady limericks and such, the New York Catch Club has supplied a record of 17th and 18th Century "catches." I find that the smooth singing of these pieces by cultivated modern vocalists adds a smirk they may not have had in their original, unselfconscious surroundings. The name of the record is *Catch That Catch Can* and it is put out by Expériences Anonymes (EA-0312).

Two stunning recordings which, though not brand-new releases, have never been covered in these columns, are those of the Bartok opera, *Bluebeard's Castle,* with Judith Hellwigh, Endre Koreh, and the New Symphony of London under Walter Susskind; and a suite from Bartok's *The Miraculous Mandarin,* by the same orchestra under Tibor Serly. I know of no records which I could more unequivocally recommend, for the music, for the performances, and for the opulence of transcription technique. They can be obtained only by mail from Bartok Records, 113 W. 57 St., New York 19.

R.C.A. Victor has put out versions of the Rachmaninoff Concerto No. 3 with the young American pianist Byron Janis accompanied by the Boston Symphony Orchestra under Charles Munch (LM-2237), and of Berlioz's *Harold in Italy,* with William Primrose, violist, the same orchestra and conductor (LM-2228). Both are good; neither is perfect. The Rachmaninoff performance is characterized by considerable body and brilliance in the piano part (sometimes extending to over-fast tempi, as in the first movement) and a somewhat ragged sound in the orchestra. The Berlioz is better. Here Munch is on his own, parochial ground, Primrose, unfortunately, is not his best self; he has played passages out of tune, and, at certain points, he sounds downright passive. Sometimes I just don't understand performers.

ART

Maurice Grosser

SOME fifty paintings, in oil and watercolor, by Carzou, rated by the French as one of their best postwar painters, are being shown at Wildenstein through April 11. The pictures' single subject is landscape — Venice, the parks in Paris and around it, and views of country and seaports, principally in France. Their atmosphere is exact and convincing, the color sometimes acid, sometimes picture-postcard, sometimes sumptuously beautiful. Some have a curiously broad field of view, like the effect in photography of a wide-angle lens. The paint is thin, the ground tones rapidly brushed in. On top of this a tracery of narrow, dark, straight lines done with a fine brush in liquid paint is superposed to supply details of drawing and perspective — the same system used by Canaletto in his architectural studies of Venice.

This spiky linear pattern produces the cactus-like quality so characteristic of Carzou (characteristic, too, of his fellow painter and much inferior artist, Jean Buffet). The mannerism is indeed so striking and unmistakable, and so invariably present in Carzou's painting, that from the isolated examples I had previously seen, I had considered him a minor and fashionable artist who for commercial reasons had adopted this identifying trademark. The pictures seen

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all together give quite a different impression. The spider-web framework loses its importance as mannerism and turns out to be a remarkably versatile tool with an extraordinary variety of effects: from the stage-set stiffness of the earlier *L'Entrée des Tuileries* to the late work such as *Le Mur* with its almost abstract suggestion of barbed wire and bombed defenses; from the neat suburban cultivation of the *Jardin en Normandie* and the deep foliage of *Le Parc de Saint Cloud* to the desolation of oil fields and ruined land in *Sodome* and *Gomorrhe*. Particularly striking among the larger pictures is *La Forêt* with its serried ranks of tree upon vertical tree. This, a monotony of trees apparently without composition, is nevertheless admirably composed. With a minimum of color, and despite the strict stylization of its vertical and horizontal reticulations, it is a vivid and realistic depiction of the interior of a second-growth forest on a winter day.

VAN DAY TRUEX is showing at Carstairs, until April 11, some forty formal pen-and-wash drawings whose subject is landscape with architecture. From Gubbio, Venice, Rome, Urbino, Spoleto, Cortona on down to Syracuse, the exhibition is a Grand Tour of Baroque and Classical Italy. The drawing, done with a broad-nibbed pen and washes of gray and bistre ink, is economical, skillful and exact, able to describe with these limited means the Italian air and skies with their sunlight and cloud shadows. Most striking of all, that special counterpoint of shapes which gives to each building its peculiar character and identity, is clearly seen and scrupulously rendered. Sensitivity to architectural proportion such as this is extraordinary in one who, like Truex, has had no architectural training. He nevertheless succeeds in giving what painters nowadays seldom attempt and what photography can never even approach—a convincing image of an architectural style. It is this quality in the drawings, rather than their subject, that so forcibly reminds one of Piranesi, himself a trained and accomplished architect.

WALDO PIERCE is holding at the Midtown Galleries, through April 4, his first New York show in more than thirteen years—some twenty-five canvases selected from his work of the last two decades. Pierce, in the late twenties when I was an art student in Paris, was a large, bearded man whom one used to see surrounded by pretty women, his café table piled high with saucers, energetically and cheerfully leading the life of an American "expatriate" painter. The work, as I remember it then, was also refreshingly cheerful. It has not changed. The present show — landscapes, flowers, nudes and figure pieces, mostly done in Maine — are executed with easy naturalism in a light and casual brushwork. The style, like Glackens', derives from Renoir but in some curiously Down-Eastern way, is more matter-of-fact than either. The subject, like that of the Impressionists, is the life around him — a country fair, children at play, flowers from the garden — all of it pleasantly human and comfortable. The painting's weakness is perhaps its color, which is bright and varied, but without distinction. The greens in particular seem unreflected. Only in the *Harvard Tercentenary* — a crowded speaker's platform draped in banners — does the color, a rich bouquet of vermilion, blue, dark green and white, have any restraint, unity or carrying power. But this is a minor reservation. Pierce remains what he has always been, one of the most engaging of the Americans working in the Impressionist vein.

TAPESTRY making in France is having a great revival and the Museum of Contemporary Crafts is holding through May 3 a show of more than forty of them, designed by painters belonging to the *Association des Paintres-Cartonniers de Tapisseries* and brilliantly executed at Aubusson. There are apparently three styles. The Cubist-influenced work is the least interesting and the tapestries of Fernand Léger and Marcel Gromaire which accurately evoke their own paintings seem mannered and crowded. The more abstract work — Le Corbusier, Prassinos, and Mategot — with very little image or no image at all, is extremely fine. Most satisfactory of all is the work of Jean Lurçat, Picart le Doux, Dom Robert and others, who have perfected a florid style in which the pictorial subject is almost hidden beneath a sumptuous embellishment, not unlike the intricate grounds of the *Milles Fleurs* tapestries. I especially remember the *Firfrelet*, a fifer in red and yellow, by Louis Marie Jullien; the *Rare Birds* in a tree by Dom Robert, and Lurçat's *Vineyardist* pushing through a tangle of grapes and leaves, quite different from the oil pictures of his I know. Making cartoons for tapestry is apparently a very special art. For while the woven wool can endow a simple decorative design with life and warmth that oil paint in flat areas never has, the direct imitation of an oil painting style gives the effect of an inferior and pretentious color reproduction.

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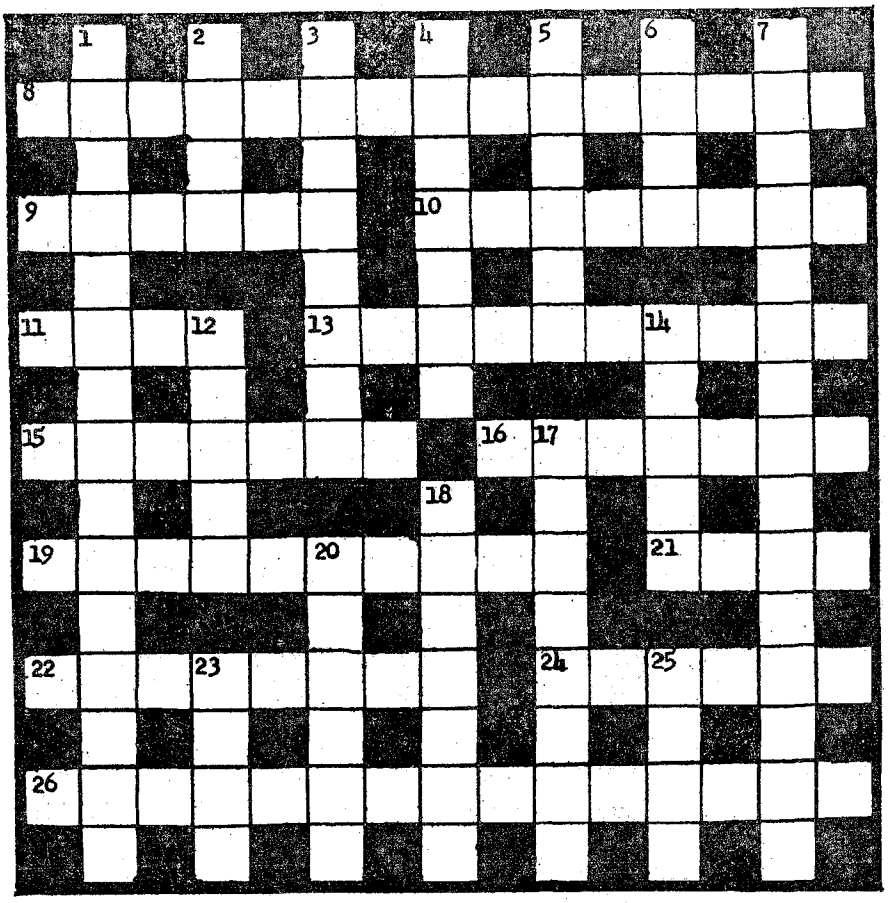
Crossword Puzzle No. 814

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

8 Does it provoke one who tells how to raise a blister? (15)

9 Care to wait? Listen! (6)

10 Is it the nickel's destiny to end up here? (4, 4)

11 Does he make a caustic combe-back? (4)

13 Distinct subdivisions of rubber plots? (10)

15 From overpowering to very quiet in the key of one sharp. (7)

16 In fractions, when combined, find a plural example of it. (7)

19 Such a pilgrim was only partly Shakespeare's. (Not exactly so, in a sticker outside it.) (10)

21 Perhaps a vacation in the fall? (4)

22 Perhaps a ball, nowadays, or any old place in prison? (3-5)

24 From here to post upright? (6)

26 In part, they are likely to carry their points. (15)

DOWN:

1 Senator come upon at the same time? (15)

2 and 12 Rangy players? (In front of bounds, too!) (9)

3 Hold freaks bottom to top. (8)

4 Reject a mark produced around it. (7)

5 Is a judge's job so distressing? (6)

6 Did an early statesman make it so? (4)

7 Topic the "Sun" said is rather simple. (15)

12 See 2 down

14 A vulgar man, but the road type might stick up for his job. (5)

17 Are drinks on the house in old Danzig? (4, 4)

18 The amusing setting of "Life with Father"? (7)

20 Known by experts to cause apparent sadness. (6)

23 Look for a type of 25? (4)

25 Earl, perhaps, brings up what is somewhat less than amusing! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 813

ACROSS: 1 Non sequitur; 9, 28, 8 and 30 Mary had a little lamb; 10 Coins; 11 Elia; 12 Matures; 13 Bassets; 15 Recovery; 16 Lubber; 18 Tannic; 21 Home game; 24 Fissure; 26 Instant; 29 Cruet; 31 Ignoramuses. DOWN: 2 On your own; 3 Secrete; 4 Quit; 5 Install; 6 Users; 7 Facade; 14 Myths; 17 Bagatelle; 19 Animal; 20 Curacao; 22 Manitou; 23 Minima; 25 Slang; 27 Tuba.

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